

The Kansas Senator's Great Speech for Free Coinage.

In the Senate of the United States, on January 14, 1891, pending consideration of the financial bill, the question being upon Senator Stewart's free silver coinage amendment, Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, addressed the Senate in favor of free coinage. He spoke as follows:

FRATERNITY WORSE THAN VIOLENCE.
The election bill that was under consideration a few days ago was intended to deal with one part of the great evil to which I have alluded, but it was an imperfect partisan remedy. Violence is bad, but fraud is no better, and it is more dangerous, because it is more insidious. Burke said, in one of those immortal orations that emptied the House of Commons, that he will be read with admiration a long time hence, "England shall endure, that when the laws of Great Britain were not strong enough to protect the humblest Hindoo upon the shores of the Ganges, the nobleman was not safe in his palace." I think that is a very good motto. Sir, that lofty sentence is pregnant with admonition for us. There can be no repose, there can be no stable and permanent peace in this country and under this Government until it is as safe for a black Republican as it is for a white man. There were a white Democrat in Kansas.

General Washington, the first President of the republic, at the close of his life, in 1799, had the largest private fortune in the United States of America. Much of this came by inheritance, but the Father of his Country, in addition to his other virtues, shining and illustrious, was a very prudent, sagacious, thrifty and forehanded man. He was a good investor, he saw it, and great way off. He had a keen eye for the main chance. As a surveyor, in his youth he obtained knowledge that enabled him to know exceedingly well the value put upon the public domain. The establishment of the national capital in the immediate vicinity of his patrimonial possessions did not diminish their value. He was a judicious borrower, but was not a grasping, exacting, creditor. And so it came to pass that when he died he was, to use the expressive phraseology of the day, the richest man in the country.

form one-third of the world's mining, one-quarter of its manufacturing, one-fifth of its farming, and we possess one-sixth part of its entire accumulated wealth.

THE ANGLO-SAXON. The Anglo-Saxon, Mr. President, is not by nature or instinct an anarchist, a socialist, a nihilist, or a revolutionary. He loves order, and he is a mediator of debate; public or private, and he does not favor the forcible redistribution of property. He came to this continent, as he has gone everywhere else on the face of the earth, with a purpose. The 40,000 English colonists who came to this country between 1620 and 1680 found a wilderness of 125,000 square miles, and, in the first place, the most formidable migration that has ever occurred upon this globe since time began. They brought with them social and political ideas novel in their application, of inconceivable energy and power: the home, the family, the state, individualism, the right of personal effort, freedom of religion, the right of free trade, the right of liberty and justice, a genius for self government, an unrivaled capacity for conquest, but preferring charters to the sword, and they have been inexorable and relentless in the accomplishment of their designs. They were fatigued with caste and privilege and prerogative. They were first of all men, and so, under the bleak and inhospitable shores of New England, they decreed the sovereignty of the people, and there they buildied "a church without a bishop and a state without a king." The result of that experiment, Mr. President, has been ostensibly successful. Under the operation of that great experiment, the United States has achieved a peaceful triumph over many subdued nationalities through a Government automatic in its functions and sustained by no power but the invisible majesty of law. With swift and constant communication by lines of steam transportation, by land, and by air, the remotest members of this gigantic republic are animated by a vitality as vigorous as that which throbs at its mighty heart, and it is through the quickened intelligence that has been communicated to the remotest members of the nation which have been fatal to other nations, have become the pillars of our strength and bulwarks of our safety.

POWERLESS TO ENSLAVE.

We have become, Mr. President, the wealthiest nation upon the face of this earth, and the greater part of these enormous accumulations has been purchased by the sweat of the brow of the colored people of this country. In the past 20 years, from 1860 to 1880—notwithstanding the losses incurred by the most destructive war of modern times, the emancipation of four billions of slave property, the expense of feeding the best fed, of clothing the best clothed, and of sheltering the best sheltered people in the world—their losses by the losses by fire and flood. During that period of 20 years the wealth of the country increased at the rate of \$250,000 for every hour. Every time that the clock ticked above the portal of this chamber the aggregated, accumulated, permanent wealth of this country increased more than \$70. Sir, it is a miracle, it exceeds the actions of the Arabian Nights. There is nothing in the story of the lamp of Aladdin that surpasses it. It is without parallel or precess it; and the national ledger now shows a balance to our credit, after all that has been wasted, and squandered, and expended, and lost, and thrown away, of between sixty and seventy billions of dollars. I believe, myself, that upon a fair cash market valuation the aggregate wealth of this country to-day is not less than one hundred thousand millions of dollars. This is enough, Mr. President, to make every man and every woman and every child beneath the flag comfortable, to keep the wolf away from the door; it is enough to give to every family the means to live in comfort. It is told that there are thousands of people who never have enough to eat in any one day in the year. We are told by the statisticians of the Department of Labor of the United States that, notwithstanding this stupendous aggregation, there are a million American citizens, able bodied and willing, who are transients, who are on our cities and the country highways and byways in search of labor with which to buy their daily bread in vain.

Mr. President, it is any wonder that this condition of things can exist without exciting profound apprehension? I heard, however, that you did not hear it—I said so in the morning papers from his speech yesterday the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] devoted a considerable part of his remarks to the defense of millionaires; that he declared that they were the froth of the beer of our political system.

Mr. SHERMAN. I said speculators.

Mr. MILLER. Speculators? They are very nearly the same, for the millionaires of this country, Mr. President, are not the producers and the laborers. They are arrayed like Solomon in all his glories but "they toil not, neither do they spin"—yes, they do spin. This class, Mr. President, I am glad to say, is not confined to this country. It exists in all civilized nations. The accumulations have not been the result of industry and economy. There would be no protest against them if they were.

The people are beginning to inquire whether, under "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," the right of the people to own the land is supplemented by the labor of all, any citizen can show a moral—yes, or a legal—title to \$200,000,000.

Some have the temerity to ask whether or not any man can show a clear title to the land of the United States. I should be enough to doubt whether, under a system so constituted, by speculation or otherwise, any citizen can show a fair title to \$10,000,000, when the distribution per capita would be less than \$1,000. If I am asked upon my *voir dire*, I should hesitate before admitting that, in the sense of giving just compensation and equivalent to any man in this country or any other country ever absolutely earned a million dollars. I do not believe he ever did, but that the commonest to-day, and France, Germany, and Russia, and Great Britain, are not anarchoists; they are not socialists; they are not communists; but they have suddenly waked to the conception of the fact that the bulk of the property of this country is passing into the hands of a few men, from Ohio to California, and the word that comes from this euphemism calls the "speculators" of the world.

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION. A table has been completed for the purpose of showing how wealth in this country is distributed, and it is full of the most startling admissions. It has appeared in the *Washington Post*, and has been commented upon in this chamber. It has been the theme of editorial discussion. It appears from this that there are in the United States 200 persons who have an aggregate of more than \$20,000,000 each, and there has been one man, the Midas of the century, at whose touch everything becomes gold. He has acquired, within less than the lifetime of a single individual, out of the aggregate of the national wealth that was earned by the labor of all applied to the common

bounty of nature, an aggregate that exceeded the assessed value of four of the smallest States in this Union.

Mr. HOAR. And more than the whole country had when the Constitution was framed.

Mr. INGALLS. Yes—and as the Senator from Massachusetts well observes, and I think him for the suggestion—much more, many times more than the entire wealth of the country when it was established. For the Federal Government now possesses \$10,000,000 each, 1,600 States \$35,000,000 each, 2,000 possess \$2,000,000 each, 6,000 people \$1,000,000 each, making a total of 21,000 people who possess \$38,250,000,000.

Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell upon mortal ears. It is, so far as the theory of democracy is concerned, and political experiment are concerned, the most terrible commentary that was ever recorded in the books of time—and Nero fiddles while Rome burns is thrown off with a laugh and a sneer, as the froth upon the beer" of our political and social system. As I said, the present system of taxation and the present ledger, standing to our credit, is but \$65,000,000,000. Our population is 2,500,000; and by some means, by some device, by some machination, by some cantation, honest or otherwise, by some process that cannot be defined, less than two-thousandth part of our population has obtained the right to have the means of the penitentiary in spite of the means they adopted to acquire it of more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth of the country.

That is not the worst, Mr. President. It has been largely acquired by men who have contributed little to the material welfare of the country, and by processes of accumulation more in appropriate terms to describe — by the wrecking of the fortunes of innocent men, women and children; by jugglery, by book-keeping, by manœuvring, by what the Senator from Ohio calls "speculation"—and this process is going on with frightful and constantly accelerating rapidity. The process is passing under the control of organized and confederated capital. More than fifty of the necessities of life to-day, without which the cabin of the farmer and the miner cannot be lighted or his children fed or clothed, have passed absolutely under the control of syndicates of capitalists, of speculators, of manipulators, and by means of these combinations and confederations competition has been destroyed, small dealings are rendered impossible, competence can no longer be required; for it is superfluous and unnecessary to say that if, under a system where the accumulations distributed per capita are estimated at \$1,000, \$1,500 or the like, the obtained possession of more than half of the accumulated wealth of the country, it is impossible that others should have a competence or an independence. So it happens, Mr. President, that our society is becoming rapidly stratified, almost hopelessly stratified, into a condition of superfluously rich and helplessly poor. We are becoming a nation of the few and the many, of the free and the home of the brave. It will soon be the home of the rich and the land of the slave.

It is no wonder, Mr. President, that the laboring, industrial and agricultural classes of this country, who have been made intelligent under the impulse of universal suffrage, have been quickened to the tremendous conditions and are inquiring whether or not this experiment has been successful; and, sir, the speculators must beware. They have forgotten that the conditions, political and social, here are not a reproduction of the conditions under which these circumstances exist in other lands. Here is no dynasty; here is no hereditary aristocracy; here are no standing armies; here are no hereditary bondsmen, but every atom in our political system is quick, instinct, and endowed with life and power. His ballot at the box is the equivalent of the ballot of the richest speculator. Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of modern democracy, taught the lesson to his followers, that under a popular democratic representative government, wealth, culture, intelligence, were ultimately no match for numbers.

JUST, BUT JEALOUS.

The numbers in this country, Mr. President, have learned at last the power of combination, and the speculators should not forget that while the people of this country are generous and just, they are jealous also, and that when discontent changes to resentment, and resentment passes into exasperation, one volume of a nation's history is closed and another will be opened.

Mr. President, the cotton product of this country, I believe, is 6,000,000 bales.

Mr. BUTLER. Seven million bales.
Mr. INGALLS. Seven million bales.
And to the cotton transactions of the New York Cotton Exchange are 40,000,000 bales. Cottoning transactions speculative, profitable and remunerative, by which some of these great accumulations have been piled up, an incoincidental burden upon the energies and industries of the country. The production of coal oil, I believe, in this country, has averaged something like 20,000,000 barrels in a year. The transactions of the New York Petroleum Exchange, I hear, are valued at 2,000,000,000 barrels. Speculations, simulated, the instruments of the gambler and the speculator, by means of which, through an impact upon the toil and labor and industry of every laborer engaged in the production of petroleum, additional difficulties are imposed. It is reported that the coal alone that is mined in Pennsylvania, indispensable to the comforts of millions of men, amounts in its annual production to 1,000,000,000 of which one-third is profit over and above the cost of production and a fair return for the capital invested. That is "speculation." Mr. President, and every dollar over and above the cost of production with a fair return upon the capital invested, every dollar of that fifteen or sixteen millions, is filched, robbed, violently plundered out of the earning of the laborers and operatives and farmers who are compelled to buy it. It is the same with the sugar and the name of "speculation," and is declared to be legitimate; it is enologized and defended as one of those practices that is entitled to respect and approbation.

Nor is it all, Mr. President; the hostility between the employer and employee in this country is becoming vindictive and permanently malevolent. Labor and capital are engaged in a constant to-day-for-to-day struggle. Lockouts and strikes and labor difficulties have become practically the normal condition of our system, and it is estimated that during the year that is just closed, the consequence of these disorders, in consequence of this hostility and this warfare, the actual loss in labor, in wages, in the destruction of perishable commodities by the disruption of the traffic, has been more than \$300,000,000. Mr. President, this is a serious problem. It may well engage the attention of the representatives of the States and of the American

people. I have no sympathy with that school of political economists which teaches that there is an irreconcilable conflict between labor and capital, and which demands indiscriminate, hostile and repressive legislation against men because they are rich and corporations because they are strong.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Labor and capital should not be antagonistic, but allies rather. They should not be competitors and enemies, but colleagues and auxiliaries in the work of raising the standard of national prosperity. But I cannot forbear to affirm that a political system which under such despotic power can be wrested from the people and veiled in the few is a democracy only in name. The vast majority of the population under which more than one-half of the wealth of the country, derived from the bounty of nature and the labor of all, is owned by a little more than 30,000 people, while 1,000,000 American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps, starving for food, requires adjustment. A SOCIAL SYSTEM WHICH OFFERS TO TENDER, VIRTUOUS AND INDEPENDENT WOMEN THE ALTERNATIVE BETWEEN PROSTITUTION AND SUICIDE IS AN ESCAPE FROM BEGGARY IS ORGANIZED CRIME, for which some day unrelenting justice will demand atonement and explanation. — Mr. President, the man who gives his country and who studies her history and her condition for any national cause for this appalling social catastrophe has not forgot... to yield her increase. There has been no general failure of harvests. We have had bountiful skies and the early and the late rains. Neither famine nor pestilence has afflicted our population nor wasted its energies. And yet it is the most primeval land, and it is in the last primeval state of national youth and strength, with unexampled resources and every stimulus to their development; but, sir, the great body of the American people are engaged to lay in studying these problems that I have suggested in this morning's hour. They are disinterested, but unfortunately they are tired of the exactions of the speculators. They desire peace and rest. They are turning their attention to the great industrial questions which underlie their material prosperity. They are indifferent to party. They care nothing for the Republican or the Democratic party as such. They are ready to say, "A plague on both your houses," and they are ready, also, Mr. President, to hail and to welcome any organization, any measure, any leader that promises them relief from the profitless strife of politicians and from the unrelenting and aggravating agitation which has already culminated in violence and may end in blood.

Such, sir, is the verdict which I read in the elections from which we have just emerged; a verdict that was unexpected by the leaders of both parties, and which has killed the waters and tranquility of the country. It was a spontaneous, unmediated protest of the people against existing conditions. It was a revolt of the national conscience against injustice; a movement that is full of pathos and also full of danger, because such movements sometimes make victims of those who are militantly against them. Really, I mean defeat. It was not a Democratic victory. It was a great upheaval and uprising, independent of and superior to both. It was a crisis that may become a catastrophe, filled with terrible admonitions to both sides, encouragement to those who understand and are ready to cooperate with it.

It was a peaceful revolution, an attempt to resume rights that seemed to have been infringed. It is many years, Mr. President, since I participated in this noble enterprise. In a speech delivered in this chamber on the 15th of February, 1878, from the seat that is now adorned by my honorable friend from Texas, who sits before me [Mr. REAGAN], I said:

We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of a serious revolution. The old laws are broken. The people are arraying themselves upon one side or the other of a portentous contest. On the one side, the masses of the people, in a large, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new laws to protect their property, their commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to their own standard. On the other is labor, asking for new laws to protect their property, their rights, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor, starving and sullen, demanding new laws to protect their property, their rights, which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives to a Vanderbilt the power to control the destinies of thousands of wretched, and condemns the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the prison or the almshouse. The people are asking for laws which have been met with indifference or disdain. The laborers of the country asking for employment are treated

Mr. President, it may be cause, it may be coincidence, it may be effect, it may be post hoc or it may be *propter hoc*, but it is historically true that the great blight that has been upon our country, that has paralyzed that has overtaken our financial system, coincided in point of time with the diminution of the circulating medium of the country. The public debt was declared payable in coin, and the power of silver was destroyed. The power of property diminished in proportion, was sold at the value of everything was depreciated except debts and gold. The mortgage, the bond, the coupon and the tax have retained immortal youth and vigor. They have not been depreciated. The debt remains, and the property that has been destroyed. The circulation of the dollar disappears under the hammer of the sheriff, and the debtor is homeless, while the creditor obtains the security for his debt for a fraction of what it was actually worth when the debt was contracted.

There is Mr. President, a deep-seated conviction among the people, which I fully share, that the demonetization of silver in 1873 was one element of a great conspiracy to deliver the fiscal system of this country over to those by whom it has, in my opinion, finally been captured. I see no proof of the assertion that the demonetization act of 1873 was fraudulently or corruptly procured, but it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the issue of a great campaign and a conspiracy formed by those who have been called speculators to still further increase the value of the standard by which their accumulations were to be measured.

CONGRUE AND ALL HYPOCRISY.
The attention of the people was not called to the subject. It is one of the anomalies and phenomena of legislation. That bill was pending in its various stages for four years in both houses of Congress, and yet it added majorities. It was read and reread and reprinted in times, as appears by the records. It was commented upon in newspapers; it was the subject of discussion in financial bodies and over the country, and yet we have the consequence.

Mr. S. was a member of the House of Representatives who was present during the time that the legislation was pending and proceeding that he knew nothing whatever about the demonization of silver and the destruction of the coinage of the United States. Mr. S. (Mr. Seward, (Mr. Seward), who knows so many things, fell called upon to make a speech of an hour's duration to show that he knew nothing

believer that it, I have heard other numbers declaim, and with one consent make excuse that they knew nothing about it.

As I say, it is one of the phenomena and anomalies of legislation, and I have no other explanation to make than this: that the abuses of Congress and the President of the United States must have been hypothesized. So great was the power of capital, so profound was the impulse, so persistent was the determination, that the promoters of the scheme succeeded in the operation of mind power and will in capturing and bewildering the intelligence of men of all parties, of members of both houses of Congress, and the members of the cabinet, and the President of the United States.

Mr. President, there is not a State west of the Allegheny mountains and south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers that is not in favor of the free coinage of silver. There is not a State in which, if that proposition were adopted, a popular vote, it could not be adopted by a large and commanding majority. I do not mean by that intension to say that in those States east of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers there is any hostility or disposition to receive benefits that would result from the adoption of the proposition. On the contrary, in the great commonwealths that lie to the northeast, upon the Atlantic seaboard—New York, Pennsylvania, and the manufacturing and commercial States—I am inclined to believe, among the friends of the proposition, from the declarations of many members of the House, that if the proposition were to be submitted there would also receive a majority of the votes. If the proposition were to be submitted to the votes of the people of this country, large as the silver dollar would be regarded as a silver reward, notwithstanding the prophecies, the predictions, the animadversions of those who are opposed to it, I have not the slightest doubt that a great majority of the people, irrespective of party, would be in favor of it, and that the great majority of the States would be declared in favor of it for the next 15 years, and they have been juggled with, they have been thwarted, they have been paltered with, and dealt with in a double sense. The word of promise that was made to their particular political parties, that was broken to their people, and that was made in this body at the last session of Congress in favor of the free coinage of silver. The compromise that was made was not what the people expected nor what they had a right to demand. They felt that they had been deceived, and that the consequence of the expectation that was expressed in the verdict of November 4,

I feel impelled to make one further observation. Warnings and admonitions have been plenty in this debate. We have been admonished of the danger that would follow; we have been notified of what would be the price, the coinage of our votes, if we were to support a free and fair financial system. I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but I say to those who are now arraying themselves against the deliberately expressed judgment of the American people, a judgment that they know has been declared and recorded—I say to the people of the United States, that they may do so with propriety, to the members of the coordinate branch of Congress, and I say, if without impropriety I may do so, to the executive of the nation, that *there still comes a time when the people will be tired with no longer on this subject. Once, they will say, they have been deceived, by the Democratic and Republican, by parliamentary proceedings that I need not characterize, by various methods of legislative jugglery, the deliberate purpose of the American people, irrespective of party, has been thwarted, it has been defied, it has been trampled upon, it has been trodden to the foot; and I repeat to those who have been the instruments and the implements, no matter what the impulse or the motive of, of this intention may have been, at some time the people will elect a House of Representatives, they will elect a Senate of the United States, they will elect a President of the United States, and they will elect the United States and execute the popular will.*

Mr. President, by the readjustment of the political forces of the nation under the eleventh census, the seat of political power has at last been transferred from the circumference of this country to its center. It has been transferred from the frontier to the great central region between the Alleghenies and the Sierras, extending from the British possessions to the Gulf of Mexico—a region whose growth is one of the wonders and marvels of modern civilization. It seems as if the column of migration had passed in its westward march to bud upon those tranquil plains, and in those fertile valleys where the happy civilization here should be the wonder and admiration of the world; rich in every element of present prosperity, but richer in every prophecy of future greatness and renown. When I went west, Mr. President, as a carpet-bagger, in 1858, St. Louis was an outpost of civilization; Jefferson City as the frontier capital; and the Missouri River and in all that great wilderness, extending from the sparse settlement along the Missouri to the summit of the Sierra Nevada and from the Yellowstone to the cañons of the Rio Grande, a vast solitude from which I have myself since that time voted to admit seven States to the great Union, and which I now see no absurdity in attributing nor home, save the title of the hunter and the wigwam of the savage.

Mr. President, we have now within these limits, extending southward from the British possessions and embracing the States of the Mississippi valley, the Gulf and the southeastern Atlantic, a vast productive and fertile territory, and a vast population; and it is the members of this body, of the House of Representatives, and of the electoral college. We talk with admiration of Egypt. For thirty centuries its ruins, its cities, its arts, its religions, have been the marvel of mankind. The pyramids have survived the memory of their builders, and the sphinxes still sit in the desert. The great heros of Egyptian civilization, with its wealth and power, the riches of its art, its creeds and faiths and philosophers, was reared from the labors of a few million slaves under the last of despots, upon a narrow margin 450 miles long and 100 miles wide. Still, in the delta of the Nile, no more than 10,000 square miles of fertile land. Who can foretell the future of that region to which I have adverted, with its 20,000 miles of navigable water courses, with its hundreds of thousands of square miles of soil, exelling in fecundity all that of the Nile, when the impulse of our institutions shall have brought forth its perfect results?

Mr. President, it is to that region, with that population and with such a future, that the political power of this country has at last been transferred, and they are now unanimously demanding the free coinage of silver. It is for that reason that I shall cordially support the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nevada. In doing so I not only follow the dictates of my own judgment, but I carry out the wishes of the great majority of

constituents, irrespective of party or political affiliation. I have been for the free coinage of silver from the outset, and am free to say that after having observed the operations of the act of 1876, I am more than ever convinced of the wisdom of that legislation and of the futility of the accusations by which it was assailed. I am proud to say that I represent the people of the country that I represent as lost their reverence for gold. They have no longer a superstition about it. They understand the relations of the monometallists; notwithstanding all the assaults that have been made on those who are in favor of still further increasing the value of the standard by which all possessions are measured, they know that money is neither a thing of no value, and that it is merely the creation of the law by which all these are limited and measured. We speak, sir, not the volume of money and about its relation to the wealth and capital of the

Let me ask you, sir, for a moment, what would occur if the circulating medium were to be destroyed. Suppose that the gold and silver were to be withdrawn suddenly from circulation and melted up into coins and ingots and buried in the earth along with the money were taken. Suppose that all the paper money, all the certificates, gold certificates, national bank notes, treasury notes—were stacked in one mass at the end of the Treasury building and a torch applied to them and they were to be destroyed by fire and their ashes spread—like the ashes of Wyckiffe—upon the Potomac, to be spread abroad, and the question is, what would be the effect? Would not this country be worth exactly as much as it is to-day? Would we not be just as many acres of land, just as many farms, as many days of labor, as much merchandise and as much property, improved and unimproved, as there is to-

The result would be that commerce would languish; the sails of the ships could be furled in the harbors; the great rains would cease to run to and fro on their errands; trade would be reduced to naught; and the people finding their energies languishing, civilization itself would drop, and we should be reduced to the condition of nomadic wanderers upon the primeval plains.

Suppose, on the other hand, that, instead of being destroyed, all the money in this country were to be put in the possession of a single man—gold and paper and silver—and he were to be moored in midatlantic upon a raft with his great board, or stationed in the middle of the Sahara desert without food to nourish or shelter him, or the means of transport, or any other aid, and he were to be left to get away. Who would be the richest man, the possessor of that gigantic treasure, or the humblest settler upon the plains of the West with a dug-out to shelter him and with corn meal and water enough for his daily bread?

Doubtless, Mr. President, you search the Scriptures daily, and are therefore familiar with the story of those departed politicians of Judea who sought to entangle the master in His talk by asking Him if it was lawful to pay tribute to Caesar or not. He, perceiving the purpose that they had in view, said unto them: "Show me the tribute money," and they brought Him a penny. He said: "Whose is this image and superscription?" And they replied, "Caesar's." And He said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." And unto

I hold, Mr. President, between my thumb and finger, a silver denarius, or penny," of that ancient time, bearing the image and superscription of Caesar. It has been money for more than 2000 years. The imperial Caesar is "dead and turned to clay." He has yielded to his mightier conqueror, and his eagles, his ensigns and his trophies are indistinguishable dust. His triumphs and his victories are a school-boy's tale. Rome herself is but a fading memory. The marble porches and the temples are all alone and empty. The sluggish monk and the lazy lazzaroni haunt the senate houses and the Colosseum, and the derisive owl wakes the echoes of the voiceless forum, but this little contemporary disc of silver is money still. It is money to the very day. The superscription of Caesar. And, sir, it will continue to be money for 200 centuries more should it resist so long the corroding canker and the gnawing tooth of time. But if one of these pages here should take the train to pass over it, in one single instant its functions would have disappeared and it would be money no longer, because the image and superscription of Caesar would have disappeared.

Mr. Bennett, speaking of the American people have learned that lesson; and they are indifferent to the assaults; they are indifferent to the argument; they are indifferent to the aspersions which are cast upon them for demanding that the law of the United States shall place the image and superscription of the gold and silver coins on gold enough and paper enough to enable them to transact without embarrassment, without hindrance, without delay and without impoverishment their daily business affairs, and that shall give them a measure of values that will not make their belonging the sport and the prey of the speculator.

Mr. President, this contest can have but one issue. The experiment that has begun will not fail. It is useless to deny that many irregularities have been tolerated, that the contest has been permitted in the sacred name of liberty; that our public affairs have had scandalous episodes to which every patriotic heart diverts with distress; that there have been envy and jealousy in high places; that there have been intrigues, and, finally, that there have been shallow compromises and degrading concessions to popular error; but amid all these disturbances, amid all these contests, amid all these inexplicable aberrations, the path of

At the banning of our second century we have entered upon a new social and political movement whose results cannot be predicted, but which are certain to be infinitely momentous. That the progress will be upward, I have no doubt. Through the long, desolate path of history, through the gloomy, dimly lighted corridors of the random gropings of humanity, the turbulent chaos of wrong, injustice, crime, doubt, want and wretchedness, the dungeon and the block, the inquisition and the stake, the trepidations of the oppressed, the bloody exultations and triumphs of tyrants,

 The capital city, the agonizing wheel,
 Luke's red cross and Damien's bed of steel,
the tendency has been toward the light. Out of every conflict some man or sect or nation has emerged with more privileged greater opportunities, purer religion, broader liberty and greater empathy for happiness, and out of every conflict some man or sect or nation engaged in an conflict finally will come liberty, justice, equality, the confidential control of the American republic, the social fraternity and the industrial independence of the American people. [Applause in the galleries.]